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Authority EO 12958By RT NARA Date 7-5-07

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS:

Chi P'eng-fei, PRC Minister of Foreign Affairs
Tseng Tao, PRC Ambassador to France
Assistant Minister Wang Hai-jung
Nancy T'ang, Interpreter
Notetaker

Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the
President for National Security Affairs
Ambassador William Sullivan, Deputy Assistant
Secretary of State for E. Asian and Pacific
Affairs.

Lawrence Eagleburger, Deputy Assistant to the
President for NSC Operations
Peter W. Rodman, NSC Staff

TIME AND DATE:

Wednesday, June 13, 1973
10:00 - 10:45 a.m.

PLACE:

PRC Ambassador's Residence
25 Blvd. du Chateau
Neuilly-Sur-Seine

[The Foreign Minister came to the door to greet Dr. Kissinger and his party. They entered the building and took their seats in a salon.]

Dr. Kissinger: I have a complaint. I thought all Chinese followed Chairman Mao, and there are two ladies here who have not followed the explicit advice of Chairman Mao. I won't embarrass them by repeating it. Perhaps there will be a chance, for several thousand at least. [Miss T'ang and Miss Wang laugh.]

Miss T'ang: Ten million.

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Dr. Kissinger: That's right! Chairman Mao said he would destroy America by sending us ten million Chinese women.

Amb. Sullivan: It would improve it.

Dr. Kissinger: We are prepared to take our chances.

Miss T'ang: How many will you accept?

Dr. Kissinger: We will start with Miss T'ang and the Assistant Minister.

For how long are you traveling, Mr. Foreign Minister?

Foreign Minister Chi: We stayed in London for four days. We came here on the tenth, and I am leaving this evening.

Dr. Kissinger: You are going to visit what other countries?

FM Chi: Iran.

Dr. Kissinger: Then back to China?

FM Chi: I might stay over in Pakistan one or two days.

Dr. Kissinger: You are taking the same route I did on my first trip! Miss T'ang was on that trip, and the Assistant Minister.

FM Chi: You have a new friend here.

Dr. Kissinger: That is Mr. Eagleburger. He is replacing Winston Lord. He will be on all future trips. He will come when I come in August. He does the same work that Winston Lord does, and in the same spirit.

We will see the Shah and Mr. Bhutto in July in Washington. And we will then work with them in the spirit that the Prime Minister and I discussed. And also what Chairman Mao discussed. We wanted to leave the implementation of this to the personal conversations between the President and these two leaders. When you see them you can have that in mind.

We will today conclude our agreement with the North Vietnamese.

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FM Chi: You were going to sign yesterday?

Dr. Kissinger: Yes, but there was a difficulty. Allies are very difficult.
[Laughter]

FM Chi: Sometimes allies take care only of themselves.

Dr. Kissinger: That is true! In fact, the North Vietnamese do not yet know that we will agree today. We will meet them at 12:00 and inform them that all the obstacles are now removed. Here is a copy for you. [He hands over a copy of the Communique.] But you will keep them in suspense. You won't tell them before 12:00 o'clock!

FM Chi: I have been in such a spin these few days I haven't even had a chance to contact them.

Dr. Kissinger: There are two other aspects not in the agreement. There is an understanding that the Laotian settlement will be completed by July 1st, and that all foreign troops will withdraw within 60 days after that.

FM Chi: You mean 60 days after the 1st of July?

Dr. Kissinger: That's right. Of course we are in favor of as rapid a withdrawal as possible. We also understand that both sides will make a major effort to bring about a diplomatic settlement in Cambodia. We have given you our ideas on Cambodia. It may have happened after you left Peking. We received a reply from you.

FM Chi: Yes, I was in Peking.

Dr. Kissinger: We would be very grateful if you could act in this sense, of your communication to us. You had correctly understood our position.

FM Chi: There is only one problem, that Samdech Norodom Sihanouk is not now in China and it is difficult to contact him.

Dr. Kissinger: I understand. When will he be back?

FM Chi: [Laughing] He was supposed to be back by the end of June. But you know his temper, and he likes to add countries when he is happy.

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Dr. Kissinger: Maybe we should depress him!

FM Chi: We think he will be back in late June.

Dr. Kissinger: We understand this, and hope you can express your views in a constructive way.

FM Chi: But it seems, with regard to the Cambodian issue, that if Samdech Norodom Sihanouk is not recognized as the one and only official representative, and if he is not consulted and not talked to, it will be very difficult for those ideas to be effected.

Dr. Kissinger: But, Mr. Foreign Minister, we gave you a procedure by which we could talk to him. It could be done. But in all these problems, it is important to have transition periods and not push one side against the wall.

FM Chi: Of course there would be a period of transition. But that period of transition can only be for a certain period of time.

Dr. Kissinger: That is clear. But I think the procedure we have given you would recognize the principles we have discussed in Peking. [Chi nods yes.] I mean in the sense that we would deal with Prince Sihanouk.

FM Chi: You mean you would move in that direction?

Dr. Kissinger: Yes. But one should not ask too much too quickly from us.

FM Chi: Because you had certain ideas when you came to Peking last time. Premier Chou told Ambassador Bruce of our views.

Dr. Kissinger: Yes. But we have modified ours to some extent. And what we are prepared to do is consistent with what the Premier told Ambassador Bruce.

FM Chi: Yes, we have seen that.

Dr. Kissinger: We want to thank you for the very warm reception that Ambassador Bruce received. We wish we could build two houses for your Liaison Office Washington. [Laughter]

FM Chi: But I don't think yours is ready yet in Peking. You are not moved in yet.

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Dr. Kissinger: Yes, but they will soon. I talked to Mr. Jenkins yesterday. He is back in America. Our Liaison Office has lost its objectivity. So we will send periodic missions from Washington led by me to check up on them. [Laughter]

FM Chi: You can do that in August, for the first time.

Dr. Kissinger: Your allies complained that we had a White House representative at the airport greeting your Liaison Office, and insisted we have one when Brezhnev comes. Because usually we have only protocol people.

FM Chi: Yes, our allies like to pick at anything they can get.

Dr. Kissinger: I will see your Ambassador -- the head of your Liaison Office -- Huang Chen, in Washington tomorrow, and I will go over with him all the plans for the summit with the Soviet leaders. And I will tell him exactly what is being planned. There will be no surprises for you. And we will, as we have told you many times before, under no circumstances agree to anything that could be construed as an obligation directed against the People's Republic. As the President told your Ambassador -- and I will repeat it to him tomorrow -- we are prepared to make a formal engagement with you to that effect. We can discuss that in August; we don't have to settle it now. But as long as I am seeing you, I wanted to repeat that.

FM Chi: I believe you also know our basic views, our views in principle on that.

Dr. Kissinger: On principles, and objectives, we are in complete agreement. And we have read the Prime Minister's general review of foreign policy. There was a document I received where the Prime Minister analyzed foreign policy. I saw something when the Prime Minister spoke of danger of the Soviet Union, and discussed US relations with Japan. We just received it two or three days ago. It wasn't addressed to us.

Assistant Minister: Was it what he said to the former French Premier Chaban?

Amb. Sullivan: It was an interview with somebody.

Dr. Kissinger: In any event we agree with it completely.

The only thing we differ on is the tactics by which we get ourselves into the position to do the things we discussed in Peking. If we want to collude with

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the Soviet Union against you, we don't need to do anything public; we get many secret offers to do that. When we do anything in public, our long-term objective is to get ourselves into a position to resist hegemonial tendencies, not to encourage them.

But I don't have all our documents with us, and I will go over them with your Ambassador tomorrow.

I can tell you now, we have already written a letter to Brezhnev, which I will show your Ambassador, making clear that no consultation provision will apply to third countries.

You must have other appointments today. And this was intended as a courtesy call primarily, and to see my old friends. Including those who disobey Chairman Mao. [Laughter]

FM Chi: We appreciate very much your visit to our Ambassador's residence. You visited here many times.

Dr. Kissinger: I saw his predecessor, whom we are delighted to have in Washington. We have a direct telephone line now.

FM Chi: We heard about that. As to what you said, on my return I will immediately convey it to Premier Chou and Chairman Mao.

Dr. Kissinger: We appreciate it. You know about our invitation to the Premier, and we appreciate your invitation to us.

FM Chi: And we are also prepared to welcome President Nixon again, whenever he should find it suitable. Of course your August visit is settled.

Dr. Kissinger: Thank you, Mr. Foreign Minister. That is how I keep my staff working for me.

FM Chi: And if President Nixon finds it convenient to come next spring when the flowers are all in bloom, it will be much prettier.

Dr. Kissinger: It would be much easier from our point of view if the Prime Minister came first. He could come to the United Nations and visit Washington, or visit Washington independently of the United Nations. Of course we would

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hope that he wouldn't fire too many empty cannons at the United Nations.

FM Chi: But our Prime Minister is one who refuses to go to the United Nations.

Dr. Kissinger: We would prefer it if he came to Washington. It would be a very significant development.

FM Chi: It seems our Prime Minister is very busy and he has a very tight schedule.

Dr. Kissinger: We understand. We are just putting it for his consideration.

FM Chi: Anyway, the Prime Minister knows of your invitation, and the Prime Minister and the Chairman are considering it.

Dr. Kissinger: We can discuss this whole schedule when I come in August.

FM Chi: I told Ambassador Bruce -- who has our complete confidence and who is our most trusted diplomat -- that he should be good but not outstanding. Because if he settles everything, there will be no excuse for our special missions. [Laughter] You have to cooperate with this!

FM Chi: I believe Ambassador Bruce understands things very well.

Dr. Kissinger: Yes. He has our complete confidence, and he has read our complete transcripts of all my conversations with the Prime Minister. Which is true of very few people in Washington.

[Food is served.]

FM Chi: Please. You haven't had breakfast.

Dr. Kissinger: I gain five pounds on every trip to China.

FM Chi: You leave this evening?

Dr. Kissinger: Yes, because Brezhnev arrives Saturday. The official talks begin on Monday. The official welcome will be Monday. And I will see your Ambassador tomorrow. I will give him all the papers. There will be nothing except what I give him tomorrow.

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Ambassador Sullivan is not used to these diplomatic methods. This is too unorthodox.

FM Chi: He is an expert on Indochina.

Amb. Sullivan: Unhappily.

FM Chi: You at least have a lot to do! Nguyen Van Thieu is a hard man to deal with.

Dr. Kissinger: You just had Vietnamese visitors. Maybe you had the same experience.

FM Chi: We leave them to their own affairs so it's not so hard for us!
[Laughter]

Amb. Sullivan: That is the position we are trying to get into.

Dr. Kissinger: And we will see your Ambassador once during the visit. We will go to San Clemente at the end of the visit, and he [Brezhnev] will leave from there. And the President will stay on the West Coast for two weeks, and I have extended an invitation to your Ambassador. If he wishes to come out to Los Angeles for consultation after the visit, we would be happy to welcome him then. You can decide.

FM Chi: We can take that into consideration when the time comes.

Dr. Kissinger: It would have a certain substantive and symbolic significance. [Mao-tai is served.] Your new Ambassador speaks French?

Ambassador: Je comprends un peu.

FM Chi: Our Ambassador is an ambassador of long standing. He has been in Yugoslavia, Algeria, and before that he was Secretary General of the Foreign Office in Peking. And during the anti-Japanese war we two fought in the same area. He is also an old soldier.

Dr. Kissinger: We will do everything to make your Liaison Office in Washington a success.

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FM Chi: We depend on your help.

Dr. Kissinger: You can absolutely count on it.

FM Chi: I will be leaving here about 1:00 or 2:00 in the morning.

Dr. Kissinger: Tonight.

FM Chi: Yes.

Dr. Kissinger: For Iran? It is not a very long flight. Will you have to work right away when you arrive?

FM Chi: Yes!

Dr. Kissinger: It is a good thing you are an old soldier. [Laughter]

FM Chi: I wanted to get back as quickly as possible. I wanted to go back from Iran, but I added Pakistan because President Bhutto wanted me to.

Dr. Kissinger: I think it is a very significant step.

FM Chi: We met with their Premier yesterday. Today President Pompidou will meet us. We will meet their Foreign Minister whom we haven't met.

Dr. Kissinger: Your Premier has given more support to our European policy than the French Foreign Minister. Maybe you could speak to him in the same sense. Seriously. We are trying to carry out what we discussed in Peking. We mentioned Japan [in my speech] so Japan wouldn't feel isolated, but we have no intention of having Japan participate in any military arrangement. Only in certain economic arrangements.

When I was in Peking, the Chairman said it was a mistake for me not to spend more time in Japan. It was for this reason that I mentioned Japan in my speech. But this doesn't apply to any military relationship.

We have made some progress with the French on this Atlantic Charter now.

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FM Chi: Yes, we think perhaps you need to do more explaining to the European countries and to France.

Dr. Kissinger: It would help.

We must leave you to your other work, and meet your ally.

[More mao-tai was served]

FM Chi: Gambei! [All drank.]

[Dr. Kissinger and the Foreign Minister stepped outside and shook hands before the photographers.]